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### III.—THE GREEK IN CICERO'S EPISTLES.

The use of Greek by Cicero represents two phases of the influence of the Greeks upon the Romans: the natural utilization of a small part of the Greek vocabulary, and the free use of Greek in the social intercourse of the day. When the Romans came in contact with the higher artistic development of the Greeks, they were content to adopt Greek forms of presentation, and thus Roman literature became, so far as it was original, the embodiment of Roman thought fashioned according to Grecian models. Along with the adoption of the forms of presentation came the admission of Greek words to a place in the Roman vocabulary, and the naturalization process was carried on somewhat freely, Saalfeld (*Tensaurus Italograecus*) giving about eight thousand words borrowed entire, or in which some part is derived from the Greek.

This introduction of Greek terms was not in all respects a loss to the borrower, as it gave to Roman philosophers, physicians and rhetoricians the same technical vocabulary as was used by the Greeks, and enabled them to deal with like objects and like phases of thought in terms common to both languages. Cicero says, *Acad. Post.* 1, 7, 25 *Nos vero, inquit Atticus; quin etiam Graecis licebit utare, cum voles, si te Latina forte deficient. Bene sane facis; sed enitar, ut Latine loquar, nisi in huiusce modi verbis, ut philosophiam, aut rhetoricam aut physicam aut dialecticam appellem, quibus ut aliis multis consuetudo iam utitur pro Latinis.* The borrowing, as indicated by Cicero, was not altogether to facilitate discussion of kindred subjects, but also because the Romans felt the deficiencies in their own language. Cicero occasionally speaks of these, e. g. *de Fin.* 2, 4, 13 *et quidem saepe quaerimus verbum Latinum par Graeco, et quod idem valeat*; 3, 4, 15 *et tamen puto concedi nobis oportere, ut Graeco verbo utamur, si quando minus occurret Latinum, ne hoc ephippiis et acratophoris potius quam proegmenis et apoproegmenis concedatur; quamquam haec quidem praeposita recte et reiecta dicere licebit*; 3, 15, 51 *cum uteretur in lingua copiosa factis tamen nominibus ac novis, quod nobis in hac inopi lingua non conceditur; quamquam tu hanc copiosiore etiam soles dicere.*

The last view is repeated de Fin. 1, 3, 10 sed ita sentio et saepe disserui, Latinam linguam non modo *non* inopem, ut vulgo putarent, sed locupletiozem etiam esse quam Graecam. Quando enim nobis, vel dicam aut oratoribus bonis aut poetis, postea quidem quam fuit, quem imitarentur, ullus orationis vel copiosae vel elegantis ornatus defuit? 3, 2, 5 non modo non vinci a Graecis verborum copia, sed in ea etiam superiores. (Cf. Tusc. Disp. 2, 15, 35; 3, 5, 10-11; 3, 10, 23.) However, his views on this question seem to have varied with his moods, for elsewhere he asserts the opposite; e. g. ad Fam. 9, 26, 2, where, after translating a Greek statement, he adds: (Graece hoc melius; tu, si voles, interpretabere).

Munro, Lucretius, vol. II<sup>4</sup>, p. 11, supports Cicero's favorable view of the Latin: "Whatever Greek writer Cicero wishes to explain, he can find adequate Latin terms to express the Greek, even if they are those of Plato or Aristotle . . . Had Cicero chosen to apply the prolific energy of his intellect to the task, he might have invented and wedded to beautiful language as copious a terminology as was afterwards devised by the efforts of Tertullian and the other fathers, Aquinas and the other schoolmen." This is in criticism of the passages (1, 136; 830; 3, 260) in which Lucretius bewails the "egestas patrii sermonis"; and the spirit of his lamentations is reflected by others. Livy 27, 11, 5 calls attention to the greater facility of the Greek in the formation of compound words. Vitruvius de Architectura 5, 4, 1 denies the completeness of the Latin technical vocabulary: Harmonia autem est musica literatura obscura et difficilis, maxime quidem quibus Graecae litterae non sunt notae, quam si volumus explicare, necesse est Graecis verbis uti, quod nonnulla eorum Latinas non habent appellationes. Seneca, Ep. 58, 7, mentions *angustias Romanas*, and it was the same as late as the time of St. Augustine, who says, C. D. 10, 1: uno verbo significandum, quoniam mihi satis idoneum non occurrit Latinum, Graeco ubi necesse est insinuo quid velim dicere. (Cf. 7, 1; 12, 2.) But such considerations affect chiefly the rhetorical and philosophical works of Cicero, in which there are 277 Greek words, and six in the orations against Verres (Loew, Quaestiones de Graecorum verborum quae in epistulis Ciceronis exstant, fontibus, usu, conditionibus, p. 9). In the Epistles there are a considerable number of Greek words which were afterwards fully naturalized and freely used as Latin words. Only a part of these need be given: *alle-*

*goria, apologismus, apotheosis, archetypum, autochthon, authenticus, blasphema, catholicus, character, diaeresis, diarrhoea, dysenteria, emetica, eulogia, exotericus, hypostasis, hypotheca, mysticus, palingenesia, parrhesia, phantasia, problema, sympathia, symposium, syntaxis, technologia, topothesia, zetema, zelotypia.*

The Epistles of Cicero illustrate the genial as well as the vain side of his character, and are an index of a certain phase of Roman social intercourse not revealed in other forms of literary presentation. They illustrate Grecian politeness rather than Roman urbanity, as Greek was a recognized part of current society talk. The close intimacy of Cicero with Atticus furnished the ground for its use in the letters which passed between them, while its absence from the epistles most deeply serious indicates that it was considered appropriate for the expression of the lighter veins of thought. Yet the use of Greek quotations was compatible with a most dignified address, as is shown by the epistle to Caesar, ad Fam. 13, 15, crowded with Greek quotations, and closing with the words: *genere novo sum litterarum ad te usus, ut intellegeres non vulgarem esse commendationem.* In some of the other epistles Greek is used to express conventional compliments, e. g. ad Fam. 2, 8 (to Caelius) *πολιτικώτερον* enim te adhuc neminem cognovi; 9, 3, 2 (to Varro) sed quid ego nunc haec ad te, cuius domi nascuntur, *γλαῦκ' εἰς Ἀθήνας*; 10, 13, 2 (to Plancus); 11, 25, 2 (to Brutus) non imitor *λακωνισμόν* tuum, though in the same epistle he has brevitem secutus sum te magistro. 7, 32 (to Volumnius) is in a tone of polite banter, while in 7, 26 (to Gallus); 14, 7 (to Terentia), and 16, 18 (to Tiro) Greek medical terms are used.

The deliberate judgment of Cicero in regard to the use of language is laid down de Off. 1, 31, 111 *sermone eo debemus uti, qui innatus est nobis, ne, ut quidam, Graeca verba inculcantes iure optimo rideamur.* The freedom allowable in epistles gave him an opportunity to disregard his own advice, and his vanity, working under the conditions of a friendly, unrestrained correspondence, must be reckoned as one of the reasons for the free use of the Greek. Handling the Greek freely, he toyed with the Latin also, as ad 1, 16, 13<sup>1</sup> *quare, ut opinor, φιλοσοφητέον*, id quod tu facis, et istos consulatus non flocci faciteon, 'So I suppose one must play the philosopher, the thing that you are at, and not hold those consulships worth a straw.'

<sup>1</sup> The references to the Epp. ad Att. do not name the collection.

Greek occurs in the Epistles in about 850 passages, nearly all in the epistles to Atticus. In the Epp. ad Fam., Greek is used by Cicero as well as by his correspondents. In Book XIV he has but one Greek expression: *χολήν ἄκρατον* noctu eieci, 7, 1. The Epp. Quint. Frat. closely resemble these, while in those to Brutus there is but one Greek word (1, 1, 1), *ἐμφατικώτερον*, which occurs again in Gellius 13, 29, 4; and Serv. ad Verg. A. 10, 331, showing that it had not yet been naturalized. In a few epistles the use of the Greek is especially noticeable. 6, 5 and 6 were written in Greek as a precaution against his thought becoming known to any other than Atticus, a possibility to which he frequently refers. Both epistles refer to Philotimus the freedman of Cicero, and in them he uses several rare and poetic words, and some found nowhere else. 9, 4 contains an exercise in Greek prose composition written, partly as a diversion, at Formiae in 49 B. C., and containing ten of the sixteen verbals in *-τέον* found in the Epistles. 2, 9, 4; 2, 12, 4; and 2, 15, 4 contain the greetings of the little Cicero, or of the philosopher Cicero, to Atticus the Athenian. Ad Fam. 15, 16-18 Cicero discusses philosophy with Cassius, and in reply receives a letter (19) containing more Greek than his own.

As is shown by this, there could be no criticism of Cicero by his correspondents for his use of Greek, and they must be included with Cicero in a general discussion of the subject. None of the epistles of Atticus have come down to us, but we can tell something of their general character, as Cicero quotes from them, or else alludes to words in them. In at least forty passages there are direct quotations of Greek; e. g. 9, 11, 2 *quam illam νέκυιαν*, ut tu appellas, timere! 9, 10, 7; 9, 18, 2. 14, 11, 1 *Ἀκολασίαν* istorum scribis. 16, 7, 3 bene igitur tu, qui *εὐθανασίαν* bene! In other letters quotations are made from the words of friends; e. g. 9, 15, 4; 10, 1, 1.

Though Cicero's use of Greek was justified by the prevailing communicational forms of the day, yet, apart from the use of direct quotations, it may be considered, (1) partly as a mere display of a knowledge of Greek, (2) partly as an attempt to make up for some of the deficiencies of the Latin language by the use of a word afterwards fully naturalized, or of a substitute for some form not so well developed in Latin as in Greek.

1. Though Cicero sometimes uses Greek words which are not to be found in any extant Greek work, and this may seem to

indicate an undue freedom in the use of the Greek, yet if we had the mass of the writings of the New Comedy and of the vocabulary current in Athens at the time of Cicero, we should probably have all the Greek words used in the Epistles. The language of comedy and free epistles is akin, and from the plays of Plautus especially we can infer something as to the freedom of expression in Greek comedy, and Roman comic wit had some Greek phrases at its command. Bearing these facts in mind, we may safely assume that there is little or no originality in the Greek of the Epistles, excepting, perhaps, where Cicero has formed punning Greek adjectives and nouns from the names of men.

2. Reference has already been made to the use of words afterwards naturalized. Two other features are worthy of notice—the large number of adjectives derived from verbs, and the number of compounds. About one third of the adjectives are derived from verbs, and two thirds of these end in *-τος*. Still more noticeable is the large number of compounds used. The weakness of the Latin in word-formation was recognized by the Romans themselves. Livy 27, 11, 5 calls attention to the fact as the reason for the use of a Greek word transliterated: *quos androgynos vulgus, ut pleraque, faciliore ad duplicanda verba Graeco sermone appellat*. Exclusive of passages which may be assigned to definite authors, and proverbial expressions, there are in the Epistles 685 words—adjectives, adverbs, nouns and verbs. Of this number 41 per cent. are simple terms. Negative terms with *ἀ-* are common, while there is little difference in prepositional formations. Though there was no necessity for the use of the Greek, yet, given the basis of social propriety, Cicero gained somewhat in conciseness from the use of the Greek. See Boltzenthall, *De Graeci sermonis proprietatibus, quae in Ciceronis epistolis inveniuntur*, p. 7.

#### Views of Tyrrell.

The character of a part of the Greek used by Cicero has been presented by Tyrrell, *Correspondence of Cicero*, vol. I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 66–8, under the following heads:

1. In many cases the Latin actually wants a word, and borrows from the Greek, while we, to supply a like lacuna, have recourse to the French, e. g. *ἀκηδία* 'ennui.'

2. In certain cases the Greek answers rather to our slang or cant phrases, e. g. *ἄμορφον* 'bad form.'

3. Cicero often borrows a Greek proverb where we have recourse to the Latin, e. g. οὐχ ὁσὶν φθιμένοισιν for 'de mortuis nil nisi bonum.'

The use of Greek by Cicero may be compared with the use of French by English-speaking people, but the translation of the Greek by slang phrases may put too much modern feeling into ancient thought. At any rate, translation is a matter of interpretation which must vary with different interpreters, and must depend on one's view of the mental state of Cicero at the time of writing. Prof. Tyrrell translates ἐκτένεια 'gush,' yet Paul uses the word in all seriousness, Acts 26, 7, and the interpretation for Cicero must be between the high seriousness of Paul and the possibilities of a slang translation.

The use of Greek expressions for whose equivalent we have recourse to the Latin, at certain points, illustrates a development of the Latin later than the time of Cicero. He uses κατὰ μέτρον and κατὰ λεπτόν instead of *serialim*, which is found once in late Latin. 'Ne sutor supra crepidam' is given by Pliny, N. H. 35, 10 (36), 85 ne supra crepidam sutor iudicaret, quod et ipsum in proverbium abiit. This is evidently a translation of the Greek, as is the statement Val. Max. 8, 12, Ext. 3 supra plantam ascendere vetuit. These indicate that the proverb was still regarded as distinctly Greek, and that the translated form had not yet become fixed. 'Lapsus memoriae,' 'de mortuis nil nisi bonum,' and 'audi alteram partem' seem to postdate Cicero. ζώσης φωνῆς, 2, 12, 2, is in a quasi quotation. *Viva voce*, though freely used later, is conjectural for Cicero, de Agr. 2, 2, 2, and Cael. 22, 55. Σῶμα occurs 2, 1, 3, while *corpus* is used Quint. Frat. 2, 11, 3, and ad Fam. 5, 12, 4. *Muta persona* is used once by Cicero, de Dom. 52, 134.

#### QUOTATIONS.

One important consideration in discussing Cicero's use of Greek quotations is the fact that Roman literature had not been sufficiently developed to furnish a mass of original quotable material in any way comparable to that furnished by the Greek. Starting with translations, and advancing through imitation, some of the best quotable material in Latin literature was in reality foreign, and even if quoted in translated form, would have smacked of the alien. Bearing this in mind, it can readily be seen why, under the existing social and literary conditions, in writing to those who

were themselves familiar with the Greek, Cicero should have resorted to that language for quotations in full, or for parts of lines suggestive of an entire picture.

Although Cicero made free use of Greek, he frankly admits a feeling of uncertainty as to its highest literary finish: 1, 19, 10 *Commentarium consulatus mei Graece compositum misi ad te, in quo si quid erit, quod homini Attico minus Graecum eruditumque videatur, non dicam, quod tibi, ut opinor, Panhormi Lucullus de suis historiis dixerat, se, quo facilius illas probaret Romani hominis esse, idcirco barbara quaedam et soloeca dispersisse; apud me si quid erit eius modi, me imprudente erit et invito.* A slip of memory is perhaps the reason for the mistake ad Fam. 10, 13, 2 itaque Homerus non Aiacem nec Achillem sed Ulixem appellavit *πολιπόρθιον*. His memory may have been at fault sometimes in quoting, but variations from the accepted text are rather to be considered as changes purposely made. Proverbs are quoted freely, and Cicero's putting does not always correspond with that found elsewhere; e. g. 4, 7, 2 de Metello *οὐχ ὅσῃ φθιμένοισιν* for *καταμένοισιν*, Hom. Od. 22, 412. Pliny, Ep. 9, 1, 3, uses the same form as Cicero, and the participle used is the prevailing one in lyric poetry. It may be that the proverb had come to the Romans, not from the Epic, but from another source, in which *καταμένοισιν* had been displaced by *φθιμένοισιν*. Ad Fam. 13, 15, 2 (to Caesar), he quotes Hom. Il. 6, 208:

*αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπεύροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων,*

while ad Quint. Frat. 3, 5, 4 *πολλὸν* is given for *αἰὲν*. Ad 8, 8, 2 is quoted Aristoph. Achar. 659 slightly varied from the text:

*πρὸς ταῦθ' ὃ τι χρῆ, καὶ παλαμάσθων  
καὶ πάντ' ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τεκταινέσθων·  
τὸ γὰρ εὖ μετ' ἐμοῦ.*

With this may be placed 7, 3, 5 *ut scribis*

*ποῦ σκάφος τὸ τῶν Ἀτρειδῶν;*

which is assigned by some to an unknown author, or considered as a mistake in quotation. It may be considered as an adaptation of Eur. Troad. 455:

*ποῦ σκάφος τὸ τοῦ στρατηγού;*

the change perhaps being made so as to refer to the Roman consuls.



In the case of certain Greek phrases used by Cicero it is not possible to determine whether he had in mind any special Greek author. While they may be definitely located, they seem rather to have been part of current Greek expression, circulating freely on their own merits, and not carrying with them any suggestion as to the source from which they came. This is especially true of certain proverbial statements which perhaps ought to be assigned to 'Proverbs' rather than to individual authors. Ad 16, 11, 1, Cicero mentions *παῖδες παίδων*. Verg. A. 3, 98 has *nati natorum*, and the MS D adds to the comment of Servius ad loc.: *Graecus vero versus hic est* (Il. 20, 308)

*καὶ παίδων παῖδες, τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται.*

Tyrtaeus 7, 30 has the same expression as Cicero, and it also occurs elsewhere; e. g. in Pomtow, vol. II, p. 362, 6, 3; p. 364, 12, 4; Polyb. 4, 35, 15. Ad 14, 10, 1 *Itaque γῆν πρὸ γῆς cogito*. The acc. *γῆν* was probably in the original, as in Aeschylus, *Prom. Vinct.* 683, and Aristoph. *Achar.* 223. Ad 15, 4, 1 is used a proverb which forms part of a line in Euripides, *Medea* 410:

*ἄνω ποταμῶν [ἱερῶν χωροῦσι παγαί],*

and if the memory of Hesychius was not at fault, the proverb was used also by Aeschylus. Cf. *Paroem. Gr.* I 47, Z 2, 56. Ovid imitates the thought, *Her.* 5, 30:

*ad fontem Xanthi versa recurret aqua.*

Here also may be placed *τῶν προὔργων* τι 9, 4, 3 (*Aristoph. Eccl.* 784; *Plutus* 623; *Thucyd.* 4, 17, 2), and *σύνες, ὅ τοι λέγω*, the reading of Cobet for *CINECΩΤΘΙΛΕΤΩ*, 10, 10, 3, where *σὺν θεῷ τοι λέγω* is usually given. See *Pindar, Frag.* 105, Bergk; *Plato, Phaedr.* 236 D; *Meno* 76 D; and *Aristoph. Birds* 945.

#### A. POETS.

*Homer.*—Counting as Homeric all quotations that can be traced to Homer, there are forty-five in all, in fifty-six passages, from forty-five different epistles. There are about twice as many from the *Iliad* as from the *Odyssey*, but exactness of statement is not possible, owing to the occurrence of the same quotations in both works. Of the forty-five, nineteen are less than a line in length, and were seemingly quoted merely as a key to the thought which Cicero wished to bring before the mind of the reader. Two or three words might bring up an entire Homeric picture. The

opinion of Pompey and of the other political Mrs. Grundys of the day seems to have affected Cicero greatly, for ad 2, 5, 11; 7, 1, 4; 7, 12, 3; 8, 16, 2; 13, 13, 2; 13, 24, 1, he quotes all or part of Il. 6, 442:

αἰδέομαι Τρῶας καὶ Τρωάδας ἑλκεσιπέπλους.

See 7, 1, 4 αἰδέομαι non Pompeium modo, sed Τρῶας καὶ Τρωάδας. 2, 16, 4, referring to a letter of his brother's, he says: πρόσθε λέων, ἐπιθεν δὲ . . . (Il. 6, 181). 4, 7, 4 he shows his charity for Metellus in the words οὐχ ὁσίστη φθιμένοισιν. His letter to Atticus, 6, 1, 22, is not χρύσεια χαλκείων (Il. 6, 236). Ad Quint. Frat. 3, 9, and 9, 9, 3 he prays τότε μοι χάνοι εὐρεῖα χθών! (Il. 4, 182). 9, 6, 6 he compliments Atticus, and ad Fam. 9, 7, 1 Varro, by quoting part of a line (Il. 10, 224) referring to Diomedes and Ulysses, σύν τε δὺ ἐρχομένω. Ad 15, 5, 6 Atticus writes μετ' ἀμύμονα (Il. 2, 674), and Cicero improves the opportunity to apply the words to Atticus. Ad 9, 15, 3 Cicero apparently quotes from Atticus Τέτλαθι. Κύντερον (Od. 20, 18). Other short quotations are of the same general character, and are found 1, 1, 4 (Il. 22, 159); 1, 15, 1 (Il. 22, 268); 4, 7, 3 (Od. 1, 271; 305); 4, 15, 7 (Il. 23, 326); 6, 5, 2 (Il. 2, 298); 7, 6, 2 (Od. 12, 209); 7, 8, 4 (Il. 18, 309); 16, 6, 1; 16, 13a, 1 (Od. 3, 169; 16, 13a, 1, parts of vv. 171 and 172); ad Fam. 13, 15, 2 (Il. 1, 343); Quint. Frat. 1, 2, 2 (Od. 9, 513); 3, 9, 2 (Od. 9, 350).

*Hesiod.*—13, 12, 3 Cicero writes ego autem me parabam ad id quod ille mihi misisset, ut αὐτῷ τῷ μέτρῳ καὶ λώϊον si modo potuissem. Nam hoc etiam Hesiodus ascribit, αἶ κε δύνηται. A translation is given of this Brutus 15, and de Off. 1, 15, 48 si ea quae utenda acceperis, maiore mensura, si modo possis, iubet reddere Hesiodus. A second quotation is part of some familiar advice ad Fam. 6, 18, 5 Lepta suavissimus ediscat Hesiodum et habeat in ore τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα et cetera. The Greek is found also in Plato, Rep. 2, 364 D.

*Pindar.*—Ad 12, 5, 1 Cicero repeats ἀμπνευμα σεμνὸν Ἀλφειοῦ (Nem. 1, 1) from Atticus. 13, 38, 2 (a part repeated 13, 41) he has two quotations from Pindar, the first also quoted by Plato, Rep. 2, 365 B, nunc me iuva, mi Attice, consilio πότερον δίκῃ τείχος ὕψιον . . . ἢ σκολῖαις ἀπάταις. Ut enim Pindaro, sic δῖχα μοι νόος ἀτρέκειαν εἰπεῖν.

*Aeschylus.*—There are two allusions to or adaptations of the words of Aeschylus: Quint. Frat. 1, 2, 13 evidently repeats a

quotation by Atticus: Cetera fuerunt in eadem epistola graviora, quam vellem, ὀρθάν τὰν ναῦν et ἀπαξ θανεῖν. The first of this resembles part of a quotation assigned by Stobaeus, Flor. 108, 82 end, to Teles, while the latter part abbreviates Aes. Prom. Vincit. 769 εἰσάπαξ θανεῖν. This, however, may have been a common expression; cf. Herod. 7, 46 ἀπαξ τεθνάναι. The same sentiment is set forth 7, 20, 2 καὶ συναποθανεῖν. Sen. Ep. 85, 33 evidently translates Teles: Neptune, numquam hanc navem nisi rectam [videbis]. Quint. Frat. 3, 4, 6 is given a characterization of Q. Scaevola Ἄρη πνέων, modelled after Agam. 375-6 Ἄρη πνεόντων. Cf. 14, 10, 1.

*Sophocles*.—The most interesting of the passages from Sophocles is ad 2, 7, 4, where, after expressing a desire to see from the shore the shipwreck of his enemies, he adds the further wish,

κἂν ὑπὸ στέγῃ  
πυκνῆς ἀκούειν ψακάδος εὐδούσῃ φρενί.

This is also quoted by Stobaeus, Flor. 59, 12; Nauck, Frag. 579. This passage seems to have been in the mind of Lucretius when he began his second book. See Munro ad Lucr. 2, 1. Pompey is described by two lines 2, 16, 2, and there is another passage in a quotation from Atticus 4, 8, 1:

μήπω μέγ' εἶπης, πρὶν τελευτήσαντ' ἔδης,

quoted by Stobaeus, Flor. 105, 21, from the Tereus of Sophocles, and a part is added to the comment by Servius ad Verg. A. 10, 547: "μή μέγ' εἶπης. Cf. Ajax 386 μηδὲν μέγ' εἶπης," and the parody Paroem. Gr. II 524, Apost. 11, 36:

μὴ σπεῦδε γῆμαι πρὶν τελευτήσαντ' ἔδης.

Ad 15, 11, 3 a line is quoted, and the first part of it again 16, 6, 2:

ἢ δεῦρ' ὁδός σοι τί δύναται νῦν, θεοπρόπε;

This is assigned by some to Sophocles. See Meineke 4, 610, xxxiii; Nauck, Adesp. 106.

*Aristophanes*.—The best known quotation (5, 10, 3) from Aristophanes is the beginning of Vesp. 1431:

ἔρδοι τις [ἣν ἕκαστος εἰδείῃ τέχνην].

('Let each one peg away at the craft which he knows best.') Cicero gives a closer translation Tusc. Disp. 1, 18, 41 bene enim illo Graecorum proverbio praecipitur quam quisque norit artem

in hac se exerceat. Another passage is given 8, 8, 2 (see p. 393), and 6, 1, 8 he repeats τὸ γὰρ εὖ μετ' ἐμοῦ.

*Euripides*.—Some of the quotations which may be assigned to Euripides are short, and may have become commonplaces. In this list may be placed (Hipp. 436) δευτέρας φροντίδας, Quint. Frat. 3, 1, 18; ἄνω ποταμῶν, 15, 4, 1; and perhaps Σπάρταν ἔλαχες, ταύταν κόσμει, 4, 6, 2; Nauck, Eur. Frag. 723; Paroem. Gr. II 209, M. 7, 78. Only the word Σπάρταν is quoted 1, 20, 3, it suggesting the remainder of the line. Other quotations are suggestive of the sentiment of Euripides, and require the Euripidean conclusion to complete the statement. Writing of Varro (2, 25, 1) he says: mirabiliter moratus est, sicut nosti:

ἐλικτὰ καὶ οὐδὲν [ὕγιες, ἀλλὰ πᾶν περίξ φρονούντες]

(Androm. 449), sed nos tenemus praeceptum illud (Phoeniss. 393)

τὰς τῶν κρατούντων [ἀμαθίας φέρειν χρεών].

Cf. 15, 1a, 1 οὐδὲν ὑγιές; 10, 12, 4 nec ab eo quidquam ὑγιές. 10, 6, 2 nihil sincerum; 14, 21, 3 nihil sinceri. Similar statements seem to have been common in Greek comedy; cf. Aristoph. Thesm. 394; 656; Eccl. 326; Plutus 870. 13, 11 begins with Ion 586:

οὐ ταῦτ' οὐκ εἶδος [φαίνεται τῶν πραγμάτων  
πρὸς ὅθεν ὄντων ἐγγύθεν θ' ὀρωμένων].

To the usual request for advice is added 7, 13a, 4:

μάντις δ' ἄριστος [ὅστις εἰκάξει καλῶς].

Nauck, Frag. Eur. 973. Cf. de Div. 2, 5, 12 est quidam Graecus vulgaris in hanc sententiam versus:

bene qui coniciet, vatem hunc perhibebo optimum.

The attempts of Bibulus to be awarded a triumph disturbed Cicero's peace of mind, (6, 8, 5) nunc vero

αἰσχροὺν σιωπᾶν [βαρβάρους δ' εἰάν λέγειν].

A translation is given de Or. 3, 35, 141 Itaque Aristoteles quum florere Isocratē . . . versumque quemdam Philoctetā paullo secus dixit. Ille enim turpe sibi ait esse tacere, quum barbaros, hic autem, quum Isocratē pateretur dicere. Quintilian 3, 1, 14 gives the same story (*ut traditur*) and quotes the line as modified by Aristotle:

αἰσχροὺν σιωπᾶν, Ἰσοκράτην δ' εἰάν λέγειν.

Entire line quotations are not numerous. Ad Fam. 13, 15, 5 (to Caesar) Ita que ab Homeri magniloquentia conféro me ad vera praecepta Εὐριπίδου :

μισῶ σοφιστήν, ὅστις οὐχ αὐτῷ σοφός,

Nauck 905. Cf. Aristoph. Frogs 1427, assigned to Euripides :

μισῶ πολίτην, ὅστις ὠφελεῖν πάτραν  
βραδὺς φανέεται (ὅρ πέφυκε).

Cf. Paroem. Gr. 2, 534, Apost. 11, 71d, note. Ad Fam. 16, 8, 2 Cicero writes to Tiro :

ψυχὸς δὲ λεπτῷ χρωτὶ πολεμώτατον

inquit Euripides. Nauck 906. For the other quotations Cicero does not name the author : 9, 2a, 2 (Nauck 958) :

τίς δ' ἐστὶ δούλος τοῦ θανεῖν ἀφροντίς ὦν ;

Quint. Frat. 2, 13, 5 (Suppl. 119) :

τοιαῦθ' ὁ τλήμων πόλεμος ἐξεργάζεται.

7, 11, 1 :

τὴν θεῶν μεγίστην ὥστ' ἔχειν τυραννίδα.

This is line 506 of the Phoeniss., which also furnished two lines, 524-5, frequently quoted by Caesar. See Cic. de Off. 3, 21, 82.

*Other Poets.*—Cicero begins 9, 13 with the words οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτυμος λόγος, from the well-known Palinode of Stesichorus, which was frequently quoted by the Greeks. See Fritzsche, Thesm., p. 372. To Phocylides is assigned one quotation, 7, 18, 4 ego autem, etsi illud ψευδισιόδειον (ita enim putatur) observo

μηδὲ δίκην [δικάσης πρὶν ἂν ἀμφοῖν μῦθον ἀκούσης].

This injunction was freely used by the Greeks, e. g. Aristoph. Wasps 725 ; Plato, Demodocus 382 E ; Plut. de Stoic. Repug. 8, 1034 E ; schol. ad Thucyd. 1, 44. Paroem. Gr. 2, 759, Mant. 2, 6. A line from Rhinthon is given 1, 20, 3 nam, ut ait Rhinton, ut opinor,

οἱ μὲν παρ' οὐδέν εἰσι, τοῖς δ' οὐδὲν μέλει.

The thought of the latter part is variously expressed : 6, 1, 17 μηδὲν αὐτοῖς, scis reliqua ; 12, 2, 2 τί γὰρ αὐτῷ μέλει ; 13, 20 μὴ γὰρ αὐτοῖς. Epicharmus is twice mentioned : 1, 19, 8 ut . . . mihi vafer ille Siculus insusurret Epicharmus cantilenam illam suam,

ναφε καὶ μέμασ' ἀπιστεῖν· ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρενῶν.

Quint. Frat. 3, 1, 23 nihil de praeceptis Epicharmi

γνωθι, πῶς ἄλλῃ κέχρηται.

*Anonymous*.—The lines quoted 6, 3, 1 res enim in manibus, tu autem abes longe gentium,

πολλὰ δ' ἐν μεταίχμιῳ  
νότος κυλινδρεῖ κύματ' εὐρείης ἁλός,

are assigned by Bergk to Archilochus, though without sufficient reason. 5, 12, 1 Cicero may refer to ἄκρα Γυρέων, as does Archil. (frag. 54, II<sup>4</sup>, p. 397, Bergk), a conjecture for the more common ἀκρωτήρια οὖρια. The remaining anonymous quotations will be given in order of occurrence: 1, 12, 1 Tito mandavi σκήψεις atque ἀναβολαί, sed nescio an ταῦτόματον ἡμῶν [καλλίῳ βουλευέται]. Nauck, Adesp. 320. Cf. Milo 20, 54 morae et tergiversationes. 4, 8a, 2 de Domitio

σύκῳ, μὰ τὴν Δήμητρα, σῦκον οὐδὲ ἔν  
οὕτως ὁμοιον γέγονεν.

Meineke, Frag. Com. Anon. 4, 610, xxvi. 4, 11, 2 nos hic voramus litteras cum homine mirifico, Dionysio.

οὐδὲν γλυκύτερον ἢ πάντ' εἰδέναι.

Cf. the apparent parody of Aristoph. Birds 1343:

οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν τοῦ πέτεσθαι γλυκύτερον.

8, 5, 1 postea audivi a tertio milario tum eum isse

πολλὰ μάτην κεράεσσιν ἐς ἡέρα θυμήναντα,

multa, inquam, mala cum dixisset suo capiti, ut aiunt. This line perhaps served Latin poets for the typical description of the bull. Cf. Verg. A. 12, 103; G. 3, 232; Catull. 64, 111. In doubt as to the effects of the Ides of March, Cicero writes, 14, 22, 2: etsi illi iuvenes

ἄλλοις ἐν ἐσθλοῖς τόνδ' ἀπωθοῦνται ψόγον.

Ad Fam. 9, 7, 2 adventat enim Dolabella. Eum puto magistrum fore

πολλοὶ μαθηταὶ κρείσσονες διδασκάλων.

Anth. Pal. 11, 176; Nauck, Adesp. 107.

There are a number of short quotations which seem to be the beginning of lines, but nothing has been determined as to authorship. 13, 42, 1 σὺ δὲ δὴ τί σύννου; cf. Aristoph. Lysis. 599 σὺ δὲ δὴ τί μαθών; Frogs 865 σὺ δὲ δὴ τί βουλευίει; Quint. Frat. 2, 8, 3 †εἰ

δ' ἐν αἷᾳ ἔζησας numquam enim dicam ἔα πάσας. Q. F. 3, 9, 8 ἀλλ' οἰμωζέτω. 9, 7, 5 ὁ πλόος ὥραϊος obrepit; 9, 18, 3 exspecto equidem λαλαγεῦσαν illam tuam; 10, 2, 1 λαλαγεῦσα iam adest. These contain potential poetical material. Cf. Leon. Tarent., Anth. Pal. X 1:

ὁ πλόος ὥραϊος· καὶ γὰρ λαλαγεῦσα χελιδὼν  
ἦδη μέμβλωκεν χῶ χαρίεις Ζέφυρος.

#### B. PROSE-WRITERS.

The prose quotations are limited to three authors, and of these Plato is represented only by the Epistles. He is mentioned by name 9, 13, 4 αἱ γὰρ τῶν τυράννων δεήσεις, inquit Πλάτων, οἷσθ' ὅτι μεμιγμέναι ἀνάγκαις (Ep. 7, 329d, modified). The statement 9, 10, 2 ita dies et noctes, tamquam avis illa mare prospecto, evolare cupio, is evidently an allusion to Ep. 7, 348a ἐγὼ μὲν βλέπων ἔξω καθάπερ ὄρνις ποθὼν ποθεν ἀναπτέσθαι. Ut ait Thucydides (1, 97) ἐκβολὴ λόγου occurs 7, 1, 7; and 10, 8, 7 is quoted a passage from Thucyd. (1, 138) referring to Themistocles. Two statements from Epicurus are given 7, 26, 1, and 15, 19, 2 (Cassius).

#### C. PROVERBS.

Some of the proverbial statements used by Cicero were so regarded at that time, though but few of them are characterized as such. The larger part of them are to be found in the *Paroemiographi Graeci* (Leutsch and Schneidewin, 1839), to which references will be given. 1, 19, 2 τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ φακῇ μύρον is quoted by Gell. N. A. 13, 29, 5 from Varro. See Athen. 4, 160 B. *Paroem. Gr. II* 573, *Apost.* 13, 12, note. 1, 19, 10 hic tu cave dicas τίς πατέρ' αἰνήσει [εἰ μὴ κακοδαίμονες υἱοί]; Plutarch in Arato 1. *Paroem. Gr. I* 314, D 8, 46. 4, 8a, 1 εἴη μοι οὗτος (or μισητός) φίλος οἶκος. 15, 16a sed nescio quomodo οἶκος φίλος. The complete proverb was οἶκος φίλος, οἶκος ἄριστος. *Paroem. Gr. I* 438, App. 15, note; *II* 552, 39. Cf. Cercidas (Bergk, p. 514, 3):

οἶκος γὰρ ἄριστος ἀλαθέως καὶ φίλος.

5, 11, 5 quod superest, si verum est οἷαπερ ἡ δέσποινα, which, according to Rep. 8, 563 C, was a proverb at the time of Plato. Οἷαπερ ἡ δέσποινα τοῖα δὲ καὶ ἡ κύων in *Paroem. Gr. II* 44, D 3, 51; *I* 269, D 5, 93. Cf. Tennyson, Locksley Hall: "As the husband is the wife is." 5, 20, 3 Interim (scis enim dici quaedam πανικά, dici

item τὰ κενὰ τοῦ πολέμου). Cf. Paroem. Gr. I 300, D 7, 80, and the discussion of Classen ad Thucyd. 3, 30, 4.

6, 5, 3 meque obiurgavit vetere proverbio τὰ μὲν διδόμενα; also 15, 17, 1. Dem. 18, 119; Andoc. 1, 4; Plato, Gorg. 499 C. 6, 9, 3 τοῦμόν ὄνειρον ἐμοὶ [λέγεις]. Plato, Rep. 8, 563 D. Cf. Suid. sub γνωρίζω: τὸ σὸν ὄναρ σοι διηγούμενος. Paroem. Gr. II 774, Mant. 3, 3. 8, 11, 3 tanta malorum impendet ἱλιάς. Cf. Plaut. Mil. Glo. 743 east odiorum Ilias. Paroem. Gr. I 96, Z 4, 43 ἱλιάς κακῶν ἀπὸ παροιμίας τοῦτο ἐλέγγο ἐπὶ τῶν μεγάλων κακῶν. 9, 9, 1 nosti illud Διονύσιος ἐν Κορίνθῳ. Ad Fam. 9, 18, 1; Tusc. Disp. 3, 12, 27 refer to this: Dionysius quidem tyrannus Syracusis expulsus Corinthi pueros docebat. Quint. 8, 6, 52 Dionysium Corinthi esse, quo Graeci utuntur. Cf. Val. Max. 6, 9, Ext. 6; Amm. Marc. 14, 11, 30. 10, 5, 1 quod mihi mandas de Quinto regendo Ἀρκαδίαν. This is from an oracle, Herod. 1, 66 Ἀρ. μ' αἰτεῖς, μέγα μ' αἰτεῖς, οὗ τοι δώσω. Paroem. Gr. I 207, D 2, 69. 10, 18, 1 Κωρυκαῖοι is used with proverbial force; cf. Paroem. Gr. I 104, Z 4, 75. Μακάρων νῆσοι (12, 3, 1) were frequently referred to, Paroem. Gr. I 78, Z 3, 86; II 18, 7, M 5, 81, note. Hesiod, Works and Days, 170; Plato, Sym. 179 E; 180 B, refer to Achilles, as does Callistratus ap. Athen. 15, 695 B:

νήσσοις δ' ἐν μακάρων σέ φασιν εἶναι  
ἵνα περ ποδώκης Ἀχιλλεύς.

The origin of one of the proverbs is given 13, 21, 4 hoc ne Hermodorus quidem faciebat, is, qui libros Platonis solitus divulgare, ex quo λόγοισιν Ἑρμόδωρος. Paroem. Gr. I 116, Z 5, 6. Sextus is referred to 16, 11, 1 εἰς ἐμοὶ μύριοι. Paroem. Gr. II 26, D 2, 52, note. Cf. 2, 5, 1 Cato ille noster, qui mihi unus est pro centum milibus. Brutus 191 quod dixisse Antimachum clarum poetam ferunt . . . Legam, inquit, nihilo minus. Plato enim mihi unus instar est centum milium. Ad Fam. 6, 3, 4; 9, 3, 2 Cicero apologizes for his offerings: γλαῦκ' εἰς Ἀθήνας. (The Greek, or its Latin translation, Athenas noctuam mittam, is also found Quint. Frat. 2, 15, 4.) Cf. Aristoph. Birds 302 τίς γλαῦκ' Ἀθήνας ἤγαγεν; This was the Greek "coals to Newcastle." Paroem. Gr. I 59, Z 3, 6. Ad Fam. 7, 25, 1 rideamus γέλωτα σαρδάιον. This goes as far back as the time of Homer (Od. 20, 302), and an explanation is added by the scholiast to the comment of Servius ad Verg. B. 7, 41 on *sardonis herbis*. See Hentze, Anhang, Od. 20, 302. Paroem. Gr. II 638, Ap. 15, 35. Γνώθι σεαυτὸν occurs Quint. Frat. 3, 6, 7. The thought is expressed elsewhere by Cicero in Latin,



e. g. de Fin. 5, 16, 44 iubet igitur nos Pythius Apollo noscere nosmet ipsos; 3, 22, 73 vetera praecepta sapientium, qui iubent tempori parere et sequi deum et se noscere et nihil nimis. Tusc. Disp. 1, 22, 52. Paroem. Gr. I 391, Ap. 1, 80. Ad Fam. 12, 20 and 15, 17, 1 occurs πάντα περὶ πάντων; and 12, 14, 7 Lentulus, recounting the favors he had once received from his present political enemies, adds πατρίδα ἐμὴν μᾶλλον φιλῶν. Ad Fam. 16, 21, 5 Cicero sums up his experience at Athens: τὰ μὲν οὖν καθ' ἡμᾶς τάδε. Paroem. Gr. II 658, Ap. 16, 9a has οὕτω γέγονεν, ὡς ἔδοξε τῷ θεῷ. Wishing some information from Tiro, ad Fam. 16, 23, 2, Cicero writes ἔγγιον γόνυ κνήμης. Paroem. Gr. I 57, Z 3, 2. Cf. Plaut. Trin. 1154 tunica propior palliost. 16, 15, 3 Cicero exclaims μηδὲ σωθείην ὑπὸ γε τοιούτου. For the opposite sentiment see Paroem. Gr. II 547, App. 12, 19.

Some of the Greek expressions are capable of a wider application than that given by Cicero, and will be classified among the proverbs. Εἰδὼς σοι λέγω 9, 7, 3, though it emphasizes the subject, may be compared with the English 'a word to the wise.' The thought itself is as old as Homer, e. g. Il. 10, 250 εἰδόσι . . . ἀγορεύεις; 23, 787 εἰδόσιν ἔμμι' ἐρέω. Ad 4, 8, 4 the Greek is quoted from Atticus: de eo quod me mones, ut . . . τὴν ἔσω γραμμὴν teneam, ita faciam. Cf. ἀπὸ γραμμῆς, Paroem. Gr. I 210, D 2, 83a. Anxious about the publication of de Finibus, Cicero writes, 13, 21, 4 sed haec hactenus, ne videar περὶ μικρὰ σπουδάζειν. This much ado about nothing is also expressed elsewhere, e. g. Aristotle 1125, A 15; 1122, B 4. 'Calling a spade a spade' is suggested ad Fam. 9, 22, 4 habes scholam Stoicam ὁ σοφὸς εὐθυρρημονήσει. Cf. ad Fam. 12, 16, 3 si εὐθυρρημονέστερος videbor (Trebonius to Cicero).

6, 1, 1 non οἷχεται tua industria. Cf. Plaut. Trin. 418, and see Brix ad loc. With this verb may be placed 13, 31, 3 de epistula ad Caesarem κέρρικα. Cf. Pliny, Ep. 1, 12, 10 dixerat sane medico admoventi cibum κέρρικα. Similar to this is βεβίωται, 12, 2, 2. Cf. Sen. Ep. 12, 8 Pacuvius . . . sic in cubiculum ferebatur a cena ut inter plausus exoletorum hoc ad symphoniam caneretur βεβίωται! βεβίωται! Tota res fluctuat κατ' ὁπώρην τρύξ, 2, 12, 3, is the opposite of 'molasses in January.' 2, 1, 8 ut tu ais ἄλις σπουδῆς resembles σπουδαῖον οὐδέν, 13, 52, 2. Habes σκυτάλην Λακωνικὴν, 10, 10, 3, refers to Antony's letter. Cf. Paroem. Gr. I 217, D 3, 25. Greek is worked in with the Latin 2, 19, 1 dices fortasse: dignitatis ἄλις tamquam δρυός. Paroem. Gr. I 42, Z 2, 40.

A few of the statements are of personal application: 1, 18, 6 sed interea πολιτικός ἀνὴρ οὐδ' ὅναρ quisquam inveniri potest; 13, 29,

2 κωμικός μάρτυς, ut opinor, accidit Phania (cf. Ἀττικός μάρτυς, *Paroem. Gr.* I 215, D 3, 11, and Polyb. 12, 13, 3 κωμικόν τινα μάρτυρα); 12, 4, 2 sed de Catone πρόβλημα Ἀρχιμήδειον. Cf. *Cluent.* 32, 87 non Archimedes melius potuit describere. There are two stereotyped expressions: καὶ τότε Φωκυλίδου, 4, 9, 1, and Εὐπολιν, τὸν τῆς ἀρχαίας, 6, 1, 18. Two Greek names applied to Romans may be considered as proverbial: 2, 9, 1; 2, 12, 2 Βωώπις is a suggestive epithet applied to Clodia, though de Domo 34, 92, and de Har. Resp. 18, 39 Cicero baldly states what he here merely suggests. 13, 12, 3 Varro is ridiculed: biennium praeteriit, cum ille Καλλιπιδῆς adsiduo cursu cubitum nullum processerit. The application to Tiberius is explained *Suet. Tib.* 38 vulgo per iocum Callipides vocabatur quem cursitare ac ne cubiti mensuram progredi proverbio Graeco notatum est. *Paroem. Gr.* II 757, Mant. 1, 87.

*Detached Phrases.*—There are numerous detached phrases which may be considered as colloquial expressions, though we do not know what their original associations may have been:—6, 1, 8 οὐκ ἔλαθέ σε; 6, 1, 20 πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, *Dem.* 326, 1; 537, 14; 7, 7, 7 συμπολιτεύομαί σοι; 7, 8, 5 ἄμορφον ἀντιπολιτευομένου χρεωφειλέτην; 7, 11, 2 ἐνσχολάζω σοι; 8, 8, 2 πολλὰ χαίρειν τῷ καλῷ; 2, 19, 1 τῷ καλῷ προσπέπονθα; 9, 10, 8 τὸ μέλλον καταδοκήσεις; 10, 1, 3 tuaque ista crebra ἐκφώνησις ὑπέρευ; 12, 51, 2 τοῦτο δὲ μηλώσῃ; 13, 37, 2 φοβερὸν ἂν ᾦν; 13, 38, 1 οὐκ ἐπέστησεν; 13, 49, 1 μέμψιν ἀναφέρει; 15, 12, 2 εἰς διαμείνῃ; 15, 20, 3 πάσχω τι; 16, 1, 1 ἔτ' ἐῷμεν.

Some have no verb expressed, and seem like catch-phrases:—2, 16, 4 εἰ δὲ μή; 6, 1, 20 τί λοιπόν; 6, 5, 3 ἄλλο πρόβλημα; 12, 12, 2 ἀνεμίσητον γάρ; 12, 41, 2 φιλαίτιον συμφορά; 13, 42, 2 καὶ μάλα κατηφής; 15, 12, 1 καὶ μάλα σεμνῶς; 14, 5, 1 μνημονικὸν ἀμάρτημα, and φυρμὸς πολὺς; 16, 1, 4 λῆρος πολὺς.

*Ciceronian Phrases.*—The statements which may be considered as Cicero's own contribution to the Greek of the Epistles are chiefly political, philosophical and geographical, with some entreaties and exclamations. The political phrases are the comments of Cicero on the passing political conditions of the times. πολιτικὸν σκῆμμα 7, 8, 3; πολιτικωτάτων σκεμμάτων 10, 1, 3; πρᾶξις πολιτικοῦ 10, 13, 1; σύγχυσις τῆς πολιτείας 7, 8, 4; τὴν παρούσαν κατάστασιν τυπωδῶς 4, 13, 2; Sampsiceramus . . . ὁμολογουμένως τυραννίδα συσκευάζεται 2, 17, 1.

There are a number of philosophical expressions, some of them

containing proper names or adjectives derived from proper names, and perhaps more suggestive than the Latin terms would have been; e. g. 13, 16, 1 Ἀκαδημικὴ σύνταξις. φαντασία is used in different connections: 9, 6, 5 αἰσχροῦ φ.; ad Fam. 15, 16 διανοητικὴ φ. and κατ' εἰδῶλων φ. 2, 3, 2 κατ' εἰδῶλων ἐμπτώσεις is part of an optical demonstration; ad Fam. 9, 4 κατὰ Διόδωρον κρίνειν and κατὰ Χρύσιππον κρίνειν are in a discussion περὶ δυνατῶν. φιλοσοφώτερον διευκρινήσομεν 7, 8, 3 refers to judgment in a will-case.

The geographical terms are names of well-known places and of places in his province: Εὐμολπιδῶν πάτρια 1, 9, 2; Τηλέπυλον Λαιστρυγονίην 2, 13, 2. Cf. 6, 2, 3.

In a few passages common Greek terms are contrasted, e. g. ad Fam. 7, 29, 1 sum enim χρήσει μὲν tuus, κτήσει δὲ Attici nostri; ad Fam. 16, 8, 1 ἀκίνδυνα μὲν, χρονιώτερα δὲ nuntiant.

Cicero in a few passages has expressed his emotions in questions or in exclamations: 12, 5, 1 ποῖ ταῦτ' ἄρα ἀποσκήψει; 15, 12, 2 τῶνδε αἰτίαν τῶν Βρουτῶν τίς ἔχει; seems to be a Latin statement turned into Greek. Cf. 14, 14, 2 quid ergo? ista culpa Brutorum? minime illorum quidem, sed aliorum Brutorum, qui se cautos ac sapientes putant. Indignation is expressed 6, 1, 17 de statua Africani ὦ πραγμάτων ἀσυγκλώστων! 10, 15, 2 ὦ πολλῆς ἀγενεΐας! 12, 9 nihil hac solitudine iucundius, nisi paulum interpellasset Amyntae filius ὦ ἀπεραντολογίας ἀηδοῦς! Regret for the failure of the work of the Ides of March is expressed 14, 12, 1 O mi Attice, vereor, ne nobis Idus Martiae nihil dederint praeter laetitiam et odii poenam ac doloris. Quae istim adferuntur! quae hic video! ὦ πράξεως καλῆς μὲν, ἀτελοῦς δέ. What Cicero asks for in one thing may be granted him for his use of Greek, τὸν τῷφόν μου πρὸς θεῶν τροποφόρησον, 13, 29, 2.

There are about forty prepositional phrases, some governing adjectives with the article, e. g. 7, 13, 3 πρὸς τὸ ἀσφαλές; 2, 7, 4 πρὸς τὸ πρακτικόν. Some of these are equal to adverbs, e. g. 13, 51, 1 πρὸς ἴσον ὁμοιονque scriberem. Ad 5, 19, 3 are used two infinitives with article: ut libet, sed plane gaudeo, quoniam τὸ νεμεσῶν interest τοῦ φθονεῖν ('As you please, but I'm right glad, for this thing of being wroth is different from being envious').

#### INDIVIDUAL WORDS.

The citations in the Thesaurus of Stephanus have been taken as determining the occurrences of individual words, and they have been classified as occurring only in Cicero, and first in

Cicero. However, these statements are of little moment, for, while they may be true for what remains of the Greek vocabulary, they might not be true if we had all the vocabulary of the time of Cicero and of the few preceding centuries. The number of words in each class is somewhat affected by conjectures, which in a few passages must be accepted or the Greek letters be left uninterpreted. 12, 12, 1 *ἐκτρόπιμος*, the older reading, has given way to *ἐκτοπισμός*. The reading *ὁ γναφεὺς ἀνθρακεὺς* for *†δρε ναὺς ἄνθρακες*, 15, 5, 1, adds to the words found first in Cicero. *Πεπλογραφία*, 16, 11, 3, may be the exact title of the work of Varro, or merely descriptive of it. See Ernesti *Clavis Ciceroniana*, s. v. A few words used by Diodorus and Strabo have been given as used first by Cicero, though the words must have been a part of the current vocabulary. Cicero seems to have made a few puns on the names of some of his friends, and perpetuated them in his Epistles; yet there were other punsters then, and it must be borne in mind that the Epistles give us about all that is left of such language in Cicero's day.

Cicero coined some nouns and adjectives which indicate his facility as a punster. 2, 12, 4 *Dicaearchum recte amas*; *luculentus homo est et civis haud paulo melior quam isti nostri ἀδικαίарχοι*. 4, 15, 4 *ex quo intellectum est τρισαρειοπαγίτας . . . rem publicam flocci non facere*. Two statements refer to the freedman Philotimus: 6, 9, 2 *παραφύλαξον si me amas τὴν τοῦ φυρατοῦ φιλοτιμίαν αὐτότατα*. 7, 1, 1 *ne quid φιλοτιμία eius, quem nosti, nobis noceret*. Somewhat similar to this is 7, 12, 2 *nam istum quidem, quouis φαλαρισμόν times, omnia taeterrime facturum puto*. Appius is complimented *ad Fam.* 3, 1, 1 *Minerva . . . quam quidem ego . . . non solum Παλλάδα sed etiam Ἀππιάδα nominabo*. *Ad Fam.* 7, 32, 1 (to Volumnius Eutrapelus, see *ad Fam.* 9, 26, 1) *εὐτραπελία* litterarum fecit, ut intellegerem tuas esse, is probably a punning application of the Greek word. The same letter contains a word which Cicero seems to have coined: *quoniam tanta faex est in urbe, ut nihil tam sit ἀκύθηρον quod non alicui venustum videatur*. *Ἀκύθηρον* occurs again, *Eunap. vit. Porph.*, p. 10. The word as used by Cicero may be intended as a thrust at Eutrapelus, for we read 9, 26, 2 *audi reliqua: infra Eutrapelum Cytheris accubuit*. There are two Greek comparatives formed on the names of his friends: *ἀττικώτερος* 1, 13, 5, and *σηστιωδέστερος* 7, 17, 2.

*Adverbs.*—Cicero uses fifty-one different adverbs—forty-one positive forms, seven comparative, and four superlative. Five are

not found elsewhere: 12, 3, 1 ἀγορευτός; 6, 1, 7 ἀκοινώνητος (as an adj. Pliny, Ep. 3, 9, 8); 13, 23, 3 εὐαγώς (a conjecture of Bosius); 10, 10, 1 παροιγιῶς (?); 15, 16, 1 πεπινωμένοι. Cf. 14, 7, 2 litterae πεπινωμένοι. Some kindred form of all these words is found in Greek authors.

Several adverbs appear first in Cicero, the occurrence of both adverbial and adjective forms in later writers indicating that they were not uncommon. αὐθεντικῶς 9, 14, 2; γενικῶς 1, 14, 2; εὐστομάχως 9, 5, 2. Some of them are rarely used: ἀκεραίως 15, 21, 2; ἀκολακέυτως 13, 51, 1; λεληθότως 6, 5, 3; ad Fam. 9, 2, 3; συμπαθῶς 5, 11, 7; 12, 44, 1; τυπωδῶς 4, 13, 2. Polybius uses ὑπερβολικῶς, ad Att. 5, 21, 7; 6, 2, 4; and ἐμφατικώτερον, ad Brut. 1, 1, 1. The latter and γενικώτερον, 9, 10, 6, are not of frequent occurrence as comparatives. Of the superlatives, ἀσμεναίτατα 13, 22, 1 (Plato, Rep. I 329 C); αὐτότατα 6, 9, 2; ἀπτικώτατα 15, 12, 2; φιλοπροσηνέστατα 5, 9, 1; the last two seem to occur only in Cicero.

Less than one-half (twenty-two) are simple adverbs. Nine are negatives with ἀ-; five have εὐ-; five φιλο-, and ten others are compounds of various formations, e. g. 1, 14, 2 ἀριστοκρατικῶς; 2, 13, 1 αὐθωρεῖ; 4, 15, 5 ἡμερολογδόν.

*Adjectives.*—A number of personal adjectives are not freely used, though their appearance first or only in Cicero is not of special significance: 7, 7, 4 Ἀβδηρητικός. Cf. 4, 16, 6 hic Abdera non tacente me; 13, 12, 3; 13, 16, 1 Ἀκαδημική, which, as Stephanus suggests, may be from the Latin for the regular Ἀκαδημαϊκός; 13, 12, 3; 13, 16, 1 Ἀντιόχειος (?); 13, 19, 4 Ἀριστοτέλειος; Petit. Cons. 10, 39 Ἐπιχάρμειον; 15, 4, 3; 15, 13, 3; 15, 27, 2; 16, 2, 6 Ἡρακλείδειον; 13, 19, 4 περιπατητικός; ad Fam. 9, 4 Χρυσίππεια (?), where *Chrysippi an* is now read.

The following positive forms are used by Cicero alone: 2, 17, 2 ἀφιλόδοξος, the negative of a common adjective. 6, 1, 23 ἀναντιφώνητος, which has the corresponding noun-form 15, 13, 2, and it too is found nowhere else. 13, 19, 3 φιλένδοξος; Quint. Frat. 2, 8, 1 μουσοπάτακτος or μουσοπάταγος are similar to other late compounds. 1, 6, 2; 1, 9, 2 γυμνασιώδης, and 7, 18, 4 ψευδησιώδεις are regular, while πεντέλοιπος is an irregular formation. 6, 1, 2 is used the diminutive ὑπομεμψίμοιρος. Cf. Polyb. 4, 60, 9 μεμψιμοιρητέον. Cf. Paroem. Gr. II 519, Apost. 11, 17b.

There are four comparative forms apparently not found elsewhere: Quint. Frat. 3, 3, 4 θετικώτερος; φιλογολώτερος 13, 2, 3. Ἐνερευθέστερος, 12, 4, 1, is in an apparent quotation: angebar

enim, quod Tiro ἐν. te sibi esse visum dixerat; and 12, 1, 2 γεροντικώτερον is the comparative of an adjective quoted from Atticus: quod scribis 'igniculum matutinum γεροντικόν,' γεροντικώτερον est memoriola vacillare.

The superlatives not found elsewhere are: ἀπρακτότατος 1, 14, 6; παραδοξότατος 6, 1, 16; ἀπολιτικώτατος and ἀστρατηγικώτατος 8, 16, 1: quem ego hominem ἀπ. omnium iam ante cognoram, nunc vero ἀστ. The comparatives of the affirmative forms of these adjectives are found Polyb. 4, 19, 11. 'Αστρατήγητος, 7, 13, 1, occurs Plato, Alcibiades 2, 142 C, and in late Greek.

The following adjectives seem to occur first in Cicero, and some of them are found but rarely in later writers: ἀζηλοτύπητος 13, 19, 4; ἀκενόσπουδος ad Fam. 15, 17 (quoted by Suidas from M. Ant. 1, 6); ἀναντίλεκτος Quint. Frat. 2, 8, 1; ἀναπάντητος 9, 1, 3 (Allat. Graec. Orthodox., vol. II, p. 208 C); ἀνεμοφόρητος 13, 37, 4; ἀνθοποίητος 10, 10, 6; ἀπροσδιόνυσος 16, 12, 2; ἀπροσφώνητος 8, 8, 1; ἀσύγκλωστος 6, 1, 17 (Synes. 198 C); δυσδιάγνωστος 5, 4, 1; ἐπτάλοφος 6, 5, 2; εὐανάντρεπος 2, 14, 1; εὐρίπιστος 14, 5, 2; κενόσπουδος 9, 1, 1; οἰκοδεσποτικός 12, 44, 2 is quoted by Stephanus from Proc. in Ptolem. Tetrab., p. 175; ὑπεραττικός 15, 1a, 2; ὑποσόλοικος 2, 10; φιλειδήμων 12, 6, 2. Ad 6, 9, 3 meque ἐπιχρονία ἐποχή tua dubitatione liberavit, is used the feminine form of the adjective, which is quoted from but one other writer.

Of the superlatives apparently used first by Cicero, ἱστορικώτατος 6, 2, 3 is found also Plut. Sertor. 9; and πολυγραφώτατος 13, 18, 1, Diog. Laert. 10, 26. Some of the comparative forms do not seem to occur frequently, though the positive forms are classical: ἀνεκτότερος 12, 45, 2; εὐγενέστερος 13, 21, 7; λογικώτερος 13, 19, 5; μετεωρότερος 16, 5, 3.

One of the noticeable features in the use of adjectives is the number—fifty-four—derived from verbs. Of these only five are simple adjectives, twenty-eight having ἀ-, two δυσ-, five εὐ-, two ψευδο-. Four are formed from noun and verbal: ἀνεμοφόρητος 13, 37, 4; μουσοπάτακτος Quint. Frat. 2, 8; τυραννοκτόνοι 6, 4, 3 (in Latin, e. g., 14, 6, 2; 14, 15, 2; 14, 21, 3; ad Fam. 12, 22, 1); πολιτιόρβιος (Homeric) 10, 13, 2. Of the remainder the majority are made up of adjectives and verbal forms: διβας 2, 9, 2 (in Latin ad Fam. 2, 16, 7); ἐπίτηκτος 7, 1, 5; κενόσπουδος 9, 1, 1; νεόκτιστος 6, 2, 2; ὀψιμαθείς ad Fam. 9, 20, 2; πεντέλοιπος 14, 21, 4; 15, 2, 4; πολυγράφος 13, 18, 1; χρηστομαθής 1, 6, 2; ὑπομεμφίμοιρος 1, 1, 2.

One hundred and twenty-one of the adjectives are not derived from verbs, and of these fifty-two are simple forms. Of the sixty-

nine others, nineteen have ἀ-, two δυσ-, five εὐ-, eleven φιλο-. The thirty-two remaining are of various formations, e. g. γλυκύπικρος 5, 21, 4; ἐπταμηνιαίος 10, 18, 1; κακοστόμαχος ad Fam. 16, 4, 1.

*Nouns.*—The following nouns are found only in Cicero, though some of them have a corresponding adjective or verbal form in Greek authors: ἀκοπία ad Fam. 16, 18, 1; ἀναντιφωνησία 15, 13, 2; ἀνιστορησία 15, 13, 2. ἀπόγραφον 12, 52, 3, and πρόπλασμα 12, 41, 4 are used by Pliny as Latin words. ἀτριψία 13, 16, 1; βοίλυσσις 15, 27, 3; (ἐκτρόπιμος 12, 12, 1;) κοιλιολυσία 10, 13, 1; εὐλυσία κοιλίας ad Fam. 16, 18, 1; λάπισμα 9, 13, 4; μακροψυχία (if correct form instead of μικροψυχία) 9, 11, 4; ὁμόπλοια 16, 1, 3; 16, 4, 4; πεπλογραφία 16, 11, 3; ῥωπογραφία 15, 16a, 1; σχεδίασμα 15, 19, 2; φιλορήτωρ 1, 13, 5; φυρατής 6, 9, 2. Two are quoted by Cicero: hanc, ut Siculi dicunt, ἀνεξίαν 5, 11, 5; indices, quos vos Graeci, ut opinor, σιλλύβους appellatis 4, 4a, 1. There are two diminutives not found elsewhere: ἀποσπασμάτιον 2, 3, 1; στρατύλλαξ 16, 15, 3.

The following seem to occur first in Cicero: ἀδιαφορία 2, 17, 2; ἀκαταληψία 13, 19, 2; ἀμφιλαφία Q. F. 2, 6, 3; 2, 14, 3 (Geoponica 2, 1, 8); ἀναθεώρησις 14, 5, 1; 14, 16, 2; ἀπεραντολογία 12, 9; ἀφίδρυμα 13, 29; διαπολιτεία 9, 4, 2; διαφόρησις 16, 18, 1; δυσωπία 13, 23; 16, 15; ἐκφώνησις 16, 18, 1; ἐπισταθμεία 13, 52, 2; καταβίωσις 13, 1, 2; παρεγγείρησις 15, 4, 3; προσφώνησις 13, 12, 3; σκιαμαχία ad Fam. 11, 4, 1; τεχνολογία 4, 16, 3; τοποθεσία 1, 13, 5; 1, 16, 18; φιλοτέχνημα 13, 40, 1; φυρμός 14, 5, 1. Ἐγγήραμα 12, 25, 2; 29, 2; 42, 2; σχόλιον and εὐθανασία 16, 7, 2 are quoted from Atticus. See Suet. Aug. 99 εὐθανασίαν similem (hoc enim et verbo uti solebat).

Cicero uses 324 Greek nouns. The following table gives the number of nouns with different endings, the most common prefixes, and the number of compounds of nouns and adjectives:

	ἀ-.	δυσ-.	εὐ-.	φιλο-.	Prepositions.	Noun and Adj.	Noun and Noun.	Total Comp.	Total Number.
-ία,	16	4	11	3	17	10	8	69	84
-η,	—	—	—	—	15	—	2	17	38
-μα,	—	—	1	1	19	1	—	22	38
-σις,	1	—	—	—	31	—	—	32	48
-της,	—	—	1	—	1	1	2	5	9
Various,	3	—	—	—	26	5	4	38	107
	20	4	13	4	109	17	16	183	324

*Verbs.*—The following verbs are used only by Cicero: ἀλογεῖν εἶσθαι 6, 4, 3; ἀντιμνηστῆρσαι (Cassius) ad Fam. 15, 19, 4; ἀφομιλεῖν

ad Fam. 16, 17, 1; ἐνεπερευσάμην 1, 14, 4; ἐντυραννίσθαι 2, 14, 1; ἐξακανθίζειν 6, 6, 1; πλουδοκεῖν 10, 8, 9; συμφιλοδοξεῖν 5, 17, 2; φαινοπροσωπεῖν 7, 21, 1.

Cicero seems to have been the first to use ἀθηρογραφείσθαι 2, 6, 1; ἐξασφαλίσασθαι 6, 4, 5; εὐθυρρημονεῖν ad Fam. 9, 22, 4; παριστορῆσαι 6, 1, 25; προεκκείσθαι 6, 5, 2; προσανατρέφεισθαι 6, 1, 2; συμφιλολογεῖν ad Fam. 16, 21, 8; συναπογράφεισθαι (Athen. 5, 214 E; 9, 385 C) 9, 4, 2; τροποφορεῖν 13, 29, 2; ἴκεφθοῦσθαι 13, 40, 2.

One hundred and thirty-four verbs were noticed, of which seventy-four are compounds. Forty-three have one preposition, while the following, in addition to three given in the last paragraph, have two: παρεμβάλλειν ad Fam. 9, 10, 1; συναποθανεῖν 7, 20, 2; συνδιημερεύειν 8, 9, 3; ὑπεκθέσθαι 7, 17, 4. Four have ἀ-, two εὐ-, and seven a noun as one part of the compound, e. g. ζηλοτυπεῖν 13, 18, 1; θορυβοποιεῖν 16, 23, 2. Five have adjectives, e. g. διλεγωρεῖν 6, 5, 3; and six are of various formations: διευκρινεῖν 7, 8, 3; ἴδιενθετῆσθαι 6, 5, 2; προοικονομῆσαι Quint. Frat. 2, 3, 6; φαινοπροσωπεῖν 7, 21, 1; 14, 22, 2; συμφιλοδοξεῖν 5, 17, 2; συμφιλολογεῖν ad Fam. 16, 2.

#### DISPUTED READINGS.

The Greek in the MSS of the Epistles has been fairly well preserved, though there has been confusion at some points. All that can be done with these passages is to seek a remedy by conjecture, and the choice of several is offered at most defective places; e. g., for ΔΥCCEΚΙΑΛΛΗΤΑ 5, 10, 4, δυσέκλεκτα, δυσεξέλλητα, δυσεκλάλητα, δυσεξίλλητα, δυσεξέλικτα, δυσδιήγητα, δυσδιεξήγητα. For EKITAONON 10, 13, 3, the conjecture of Ellis, ἐπίσταθμον; for MIACKORΔΟΥ 13, 42, 3, that of Tyrrell, μὴ σκόρδον, seem conclusive, though for the latter μίασμα δρνός once seemed satisfactory. See Paroem. Gr. I 434, Z 2, 84. For ΠΑΡΑΟΤΛΕΥΤΕΟΝ 10, 12, 2, παρακλεπτέον, παραπλευτέον, and πόρον κλεπτέον have been suggested. The words of Cicero are: quo me nunc vertam? undique custodior. sed satis lacrimis. ΠΑΡ. igitur et occulte in aliquam onerariam correspondum. Παραλογευτέον nearly reproduces the letters of the MSS, and, though the word is not found elsewhere, Cicero has a kindred form, ἀλογενόμενος 6, 4, 3. Ad 4, 18, 1 γοργεῖα γυμνά, πορεία πυκνά, and πρῶρα πρύμνα have been given for ΠΟΠΙΤΑ-ΤΥΜΝΑ. Cf. ad Fam. 16, 24, 1 mihi prora et puppis, ut Graecorum proverbium est, fuit a me tui dimittendi. This passage supports the reading last given, though the sense can be as well preserved by reading *opera humana*, the capital letters of which



resemble the MSS reading as closely as do any of the Greek readings suggested. The same epistle offers another puzzle—OYCOIMPICAMAΦIH. Antiochum Gabinium . . . lege Papia condemnarunt. Itaque dixit statim †resp. lege maiestatis. The many conjectures at this point show the hopelessness of attempts at interpretation. οὐ σοί, Ἄρες, ἀλλὰ Παφίῃ retains the possible punning and contrast involved in the word *Papia*. 10, 12a, 4 est enim indoles, modo aliquod †hoc sit ἥθος AKIMOAOON quod si adhuc nullum est, esse tamen potest, aut ἀρετὴ non est διδασκόν, quod mihi persuaderi non potest. The reading *ἄλκιμος* is possible, as kindred forms of the word are similarly used: Plato, Legg. 2, 659 D, παιδεία . . . ἐστ' ἡ παίδων ὀλκή τε καὶ ἀγωγή πρὸς τὸν . . . λόγον. Rep. 7, 521 D, μάθημα ψυχῆς ὀλκὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ γιγνομένου ἐπὶ τὸ ὄν.

How far the desire for a display of his knowledge may have entered into Cicero's use of Greek in the Epistles is a matter of interpretation. The material collected by Lange, *Quid cum de ingenio et litteris tum de poetis Graecorum Cicero senserit* (Diss. Phil. Hal., vol. IV, pp. 221–90), shows that Cicero frequently translated Greek, both poetry and proverbs, into Latin, and the same course was open to him in the Epistles; but, in harmony with prevailing social canons, writing to men thoroughly conversant with Greek and using it in communications to Cicero, his practice would evoke no criticism. The modern student of Greek has some ground to commend him, for Cicero's Greek vocabulary adds somewhat to the other Greek vocabulary that has come down to us, and the words used first by him throw a little light on its historical development.

It is impossible to decide from the quotations how familiar Cicero was with the works from which his quotations come. The range of the quotations is not great, nor are there indications of an extensive acquaintance with Greek literature. All that was proverbial may be held to have had a place in the current of social communication, and to this indefinite source may likewise be assigned a few passages which, because of their prominence, were quoted by other writers. Longer quotations may represent an intimate acquaintance with the works from which they come; they may have been gleaned from 'Choice Selections' or may represent a cursory reading for quotation purposes; but, in the absence of any statement by Cicero bearing on the question, no definite answer can be given.